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A Literary Dependency of Jubilees on 1 Enoch?

Jacques van Ruiten

Jubilees is a rewriting of the biblical books of Genesis and Exodus 1–19. However, there are several deviations from the biblical texts. Sometimes the author uses other theological texts and traditions. In a limited number of places he seems to use Enochic texts and traditions (cf. Jub 4:15–26; 5:1–10; 7:20–39; 10:1–17), especially with regard to the figure of Enoch and to the story of the Watchers. In his study “Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources,” James VanderKam (1978) describes the relationship between Jubilees and 1 Enoch. This work influenced his *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (1984, 179–88) and formed the base of a chapter about the relation between Jubilees and 1 Enoch in his book *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (1995, 110–21). VanderKam relies to a certain extent on some of his predecessors, i.e., Robert H. Charles (1902, xlv, 36–39, 43–44), Pierre Grelot (1958, 5–26, 181–210), and Josef T. Milik (1976), but surpasses them in many ways. His inventory of the parallels between Jubilees and 1 Enoch is quite impressive. VanderKam is followed by others (Nickelsburg 2001, 71–76). I restrict myself to the parallels mentioned with regard to Jubilees 4:17–25:

	<i>References to 1 Enoch mentioned in VanderKam (1978)</i>
Jub 4:17a	82:1–3; 92:1 81; 82:1–3; 83:1; 94:1 82:2–3; 92:1 (cf. 4QEn 1 ii 22–25) 12:3; 82:1–3; 83:2
Jub 4:17b	72–82 82:4–9

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Jub 4:18	80-82 81:6; 82:1; 82:4-9 93:1-2 (4QEn ^g 1 iii 18-22)
Jub 4:19	83-90 92:1 91:1 93:2 93:3; 91:15; 91:17 81-82 81:2; 81:6; 82:1-3
Jub 4:20	85:3
Jub 4:22	6-16 7:1; 10:11
Jub 4:23-25	no affinities

Despite his caution and his hesitations, VanderKam concludes that the author of Jubilees is dependent on the *text* of 1 Enoch. He shows that Jubilees has knowledge of nearly all existing parts of the book (Vanderkam 1978, 1:241):

<i>1 Enoch</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
Book of the Watchers (6–36)	4:15, 21, 22; 5:2, 6, 7, (9, 10); 7:21, (22), 23, 24, 27; 10:1-2
Astronomical Book (72–82)	4:17, 18 (?); 7:38-39 (?)
Dream Visions (83–90)	4:20; 5:(2, 6, 7), 9, 10; 7:(21), 22
Epistle of Enoch (91–105)	4:17 (?), 18, 19; 7:29; 10:17 (?)

According to VanderKam, the use of all existing parts of 1 Enoch points to the fact that Jubilees would have been composed after Dream Visions was written in 164 or 163 B.C.E. (VanderKam 1995, 117; 2001a, 21). I would like to question the literary dependency of Jubilees upon 1 Enoch. According to my opinion, the dating of Dream Visions is of no use for the dating of Jubilees because we cannot prove that the author of Jubilees is using the text of Dream Visions.

In many cases, especially for Dream Visions and the Epistle of Enoch, it is not clear that the author of Jubilees had direct access to the books of Enoch as we have them today. The verbal parallels are very small, often one or two words, which are moreover used in a different syntactical construction, words that often occur also elsewhere in 1 Enoch and sometimes even in other works of second-century Judaism. This is in sharp contrast to the biblical material the author of Jubilees is using, and which he often quotes verbatim.

In the cases when the author of Jubilees uses the biblical text, it is quite

clear how he is referring to the biblical text, what he omits, adds, or modifies (Ruiten 2000). For the Enochic material, however, it is not clear. Parallels in thought or thematic parallels are often quite broad and do not point to a literary dependency. In this case one should decide that both are dependent on a common tradition. Both Jubilees and the later parts of 1 Enoch might be dependent either on a common text or on a common (Enoch) tradition. Although the author of Jubilees was certainly aware of many of the early traditions which surrounded Enoch, it is impossible to identify the source Jubilees is referring to. One can hardly speak about quotations from 1 Enoch in Jubilees. I focus on Jubilees 4:17-25 to illustrate my point (Ruiten 2000, 165-66).

1. Although 1 Enoch mentions in several places that Enoch was able to write (12:4; 15:1; 17-19; 20-36 [esp. 33:3]; 74:2; 81:6; 82:1; 83:2, 10; 92:11; 108:1), it is nowhere stated that he was the *first* who learned to write, as in Jubilees 4:17. Moreover, the exact wording in Jubilees differs from 1 Enoch. The mention of Enoch as the *first* writer may be a point the author of Jubilees himself is making: because Enoch was the first to write, and because he wrote his teachings in the company of God's angels, the teachings of Enoch transmitted to Noah and other patriarchs would have divine authority (Najman 1999, 385). The mention of Enoch as a writer may of course point to a *written* tradition. However, it is not clear to which book(s) the author of Jubilees is referring. It is by no means clear that he is referring to the whole composition of 1 Enoch as we know it.

2. One may point to the Epistle of Enoch, especially to 1 Enoch 93:1-2, as the background of Jubilees 4:18. In the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, Enoch recounts passages from his book to his children. He received his information "in a vision of heaven, and from the word of the Watchers and holy ones" (cf. 4Q212 3:18-22), just as he received his information in Jubilees from the angels (cf. Jub 4:18g: "as we told him"), and in a vision (cf. 4:19ab). It is interesting that the heptadic structure of history is also the structural pattern of the Apocalypse of Weeks as it is in Jubilees. However, the exact wording in Jubilees differs from 1 Enoch. The other astronomical information in Jubilees 4:18 might also refer to several Enochic sources, especially from the Astronomical Book (1 En 81:6; 82:1; 83:2, 10; 92:11; 108:1) (Milik 1976, 11; Grelot 1975, 484-85). It is difficult, however, to point to an exact parallel.

3. The night vision of what had happened and what will happen unto the day of judgment (Jub 4:19) might refer to Dream Visions (1 En 83-90), which contains two dream visions, one about the past (85:3-88:3) and one about the future (83:3-5; 89:1-90:39) (Charles 1902, 38; Grelot 1975, 485; Milik 1976, 45). However, Jubilees knows only one vision, and it stops at the judgment, while 1 Enoch proceeds beyond the judgment (VanderKam 1978, 1:234-35). The wording is also quite different. Besides this, VanderKam points to 1 Enoch 81-82 (esp.

81:2; Vanderkam 1978, 1:234-35) and the Epistle of Enoch (esp. 92:1; 93:2; VanderKam 1995, 115) as the possible backgrounds to Jubilees 4:19. Moreover, here there are no verbal parallels.

4. In Jubilees 4:21b the author seems to betray his knowledge of the cosmological section of the Book of the Watchers (1 En 17–36) where Enoch, in company of the angels, views the heavenly and earthly things when he travels to the farthest end of the world (Milik 1976, 25; VanderKam 1978, 1:235; 1999, 156). However, no verbal parallel can be found.

5. With regard to Jubilees 4:22, one can point to the angelological part of the Book of the Watchers (1 En 6–16) (see esp. Jub 7:1; 10:11; cf. VanderKam 1999, 156, 169–70), but the exact wording is different.

6. In Jubilees 4:23–26, Jubilees has not very much affinity with 1 Enoch, which only briefly describes Enoch's translation from earth and the aftermath (VanderKam 1978, 1:235). The passage is of some importance for Jubilees' portrayal of Enoch.

In conclusion, one can say that Jubilees 4:17–26 reveals that the author of Jubilees knew much about the Enochic traditions. He is strongly influenced by this material. However, in my opinion it is not possible to say that Jubilees is dependent on the *text* of 1 Enoch. The wording of the two is too different.

Also, in other passages Jubilees (5:2, 6, 7, 9, 10; 7:21, 22) shows, according to VanderKam, influence of Dream Visions, though there seems to be no textual relationship. I refer to Jubilees 5:6–10, which is parallel to 1 Enoch 88. One can especially refer to the motifs of the sword and the binding of the angels. However, these elements occur also in the Book of the Watchers (esp. 1 En 10). As far as Jubilees 7:22 is concerned, one could relate the mention of the giants, the Naphillim, and the Elyo, with 1 Enoch 86–87. However, there is a closer parallel in the Book of the Watchers, i.e., 1 Enoch 7:2, which is perhaps the only case in which one could conclude for a dependency of Jubilees on 1 Enoch.

One may conclude that Jubilees has some parallels with Dream Visions. These parallels, however, do not point to a literary dependency of Jubilees on Dream Visions, but on a common tradition, which is probably to be found in the Book of the Watchers. It is not valid, therefore, to date Jubilees (relatively) after Dream Visions (i.e., after 164–163 B.C.E.) on the basis of the literary parallels between these two. The dating of Dream Visions is of no use for the dating of Jubilees, and vice versa. One should no longer say that Dream Visions is early *because* it is known to the author of Jubilees.

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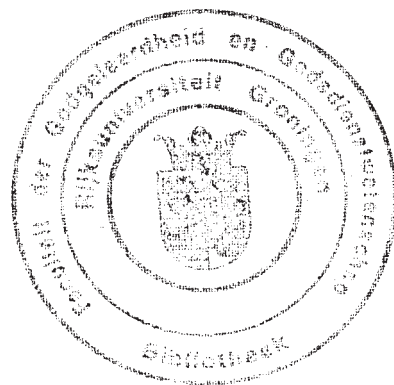
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